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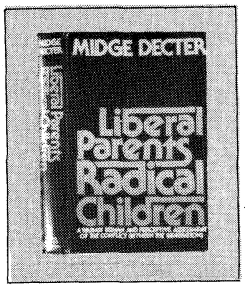
LIBERAL PARENTS, RADICAL CHILDREN

By Midge Decter



Midge Decter has written an eloquent, sometimes bewildering book about the new generation gap that exists between middle-class liberal parents and their so-called radical children, who have not lived up to the achievement-oriented expectations of the enlightened class that spawned them. These children were expected to become the cultural, intellectual, business and political leaders of the future. Instead, they have dropped out of universities, become potheads, joined communes, or become pushcart vendors, taxi drivers, housepainters, movers of furniture, keepers of small shops. In fact, they seem more retarded than radical.

How could a generation of such bright, well-nurtured children, given advantages and care and love as no other generation has been given, wind up as such "failures"? Ms Decter blames the parents. "One need subscribe to no school of thought beyond that of the plainest common sense to be aware," she writes in an opening "Letter to the Young," "that the behavior of the members of my class and generation as parents has had the greatest bearing on your behavior as our children."

What did Decter and the other liberal parents do wrong? "We refused to assume," she writes, "partly on ideological grounds but partly also, I think, on esthetic grounds, one of the central obligations of parenthood: to make ourselves the final authority on good and bad, right and wrong, and to take the consequences of what might turn out to be a lifelong battle. . . . We allowed you a charade of trivial freedoms in order to avoid making those impositions on you that are in the end both the training ground and proving ground for true independence. We pronounced you strong when you were still weak in order to avoid the struggles with you that would have fed your true strength. We proclaimed you sound when you were foolish in order to avoid taking part in the long, slow, slogging effort that is the only route to genuine maturity of mind and feeling."

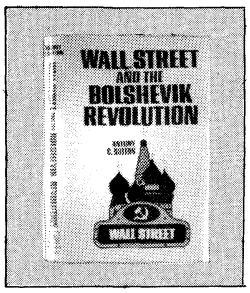
There is no doubt that these liberal parents are to a great extent responsible for having created their radical children. On the other hand, Decter, out of a profound sense of guilt, runs the danger of placing too much blame on these hapless, well-meaning parents, whose crime, apparently, is in having loved their children too much. I would tend to look elsewhere. I would look into that vast, all-pervading American institution known as public education, through which virtually all of our youngsters must pass. In 1970 and '71 I spent eighteen months as a substitute teacher in the high schools and junior high schools of a large Boston suburb, and I can testify that you don't have to come from a professional middle-class liberal family in a fashionable neighborhood to emerge as a hippie or a dropout or a pothead. All you really have to do is simply pass through the 12-year-long process of socialization and intellectual genocide that takes place in our government schools to emerge as the "failure" Decter so eloquently describes.

The proof for this can be found in the fact that American schools are producing the same misfits all over the country, from Texas to California, from Georgia to Maine, from New York to Oregon. Decter's observations merely confirm that the children of liberal, middle-class professionals are no more immune to the intellectually debilitating influences of public education than are the children of auto mechanics, small businessmen, petty bureaucrats, and waitresses. The reason why such failure is more telling among those in Decter's class is because intellectual achievement is a normal expectation among them, whereas it is not among the other social groups. And intellectual achievement is what our educational system specializes in preventing. The look-say method of reading instruction alone, which domintes our educational system, is sufficient to make it impossible for most American children to achieve any high degree of literacy. And without high literacy, intellectual achievement is impossible.

True, Decter and her generation made serious mistakes in the way they raised their children. They were overindulgent and overpermissive. But their most serious mistake was in subjecting their children to a system of education that has produced the greatest generation of intellectual cripples in our history. And so, instead of adding a new guilt complex to those already possessed by the guilt-burdened middle class, I would advise Ms Decter to take a good look into the local schoolhouse. Her next book might be entitled "Liberal Schools, Retarded Children." **Reviewed by Samuel L. Blumenfeld / Sociology—Education / G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975 / $7.95**

WALL STREET AND THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

By Antony C. Sutton



Up until about a dozen years ago, it was a fundamental belief in proper conservative and related conventional circles that the Communists were to be found in one heap, and the "capitalists" in another, and no one was supposed to more alienated than one was from the other. The only segment of the anti-Communist spectrum that insisted there was some kind of organic relationship between the two might be described as the "radical right," condemned by scholarly respectability because of their emphasis on Jewish capital of some substance at the base of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The picture has changed and broadened substantially in the interim and sustained research plus the opening of long-sealed diplomatic archives has resulted in increasing attention to the part played by Big Finance and Big Industry in the successful floating of the Bolshevik upheaval in Russia. Antony Sutton's latest work, in this vein, is at once a recapitulation of information long known, as well as a revelation in the department of new and electric supporting material to the thesis stated above.

His book should convince even the circles most resistant to the view that capitalists and Communists might get together on something, whose position has been badly shaken by detente and the recent joint Russo-American exploits in space. (Forgotten is the crucial role the USA and Britain played in rescuing Stalinist Soviet Russia from annihilation or gravely shrunken status at the hands of the Germans and Hitler. In retrospect, Roosevelt and Churchill made the world safe for communism, and it has been expanding ever

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Sutton –*(Continued from page 1)*

since, riding on a wave of 30 years of successes, which induces Solzhenitsyn to declare that World War III is already over and the Soviets have won it.) Sutton's impressive trilogy, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1917-1965*, explains another important aspect of this relationship.

In the book under review here, Sutton has performed an extremely useful task for those who are just becoming acquainted with the subject, tying together previously published materials and hitherto unavailable evidence of some significance, mined from the archives of both the U.S. State Department and the British Foreign Office. The third appendix of documents to this essentially modest little book is alone worth the price.

The writing has a tendency to be repetitive, as the same tale and many of the same characters reappear in additional episodes or contexts. But when Sutton gets through, there is not much one can do to try to discount or brush off the significant part played by major economic factors of the West in launching Lenin and Trotsky on their rocketlike trip to the top of Russian affairs. For many, it may be the first time they have come to realize that there are capitalists and there are capitalists (these days even Big Agriculture has got into the act with the repeated vast grain sales to the Brezhnev regime), and that there is only the faintest link, if any, between firms whose resources are spelled out in 12 figures and the corner banana stand operator or the house-to-house thread peddler.

A succession of opulent and fragrant personalities wanders across Sutton's pages, most of them quite innocent of intellectual persuasions linked to socialist theory and as remote from revolutionary ambitions as a turnip. But their interest in floating loans to the Bolsheviks, contributing substantially to their various intrigues, and panting for the opportunity to become major and sustaining suppliers of vast amounts of goods and services to such a regime is most instructive. On the surface, the latter would appear to be one which one would never believe would tarnish the pure blue light of proletarian socialism with such crass complications, but the record demonstrates a mutual eagerness to collaborate and cooperate.

Sutton's treatment of Olof Aschberg and the American International Corporation is superior, as is his extended emphasis on the peculiar interest and role of selected diplomats in a number of strategically located spots in the world, the continuous involvement of the Morgan name, and his debunking of John Reed and Raymond Robins.

The book suffers from a number of editorial lapses, which are not the author's responsibility. The use of contractions and familiar phraseology is awkward in formal writing. There are several mistakes in names in both text and index (e.g., it is "Beekman Winthrop," not "Beckman Winthrope"); Murmansk becomes "Murman" in one instance; Abraham Cahan, editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, though the addressee of an important document, is only partially identified in the text and omitted from the index; the German diplomat Franz von Papen's last name is spelled correctly and incorrectly on successive pages, only one of which makes the index, wherein he is also given a new first name, "Fritz." If this were a tweedy, pipe-sucking review, one could go on in this vein for some time. However, the book is attractively printed and readable, and the substance is, after all, the main consideration.

After reading this, you may recall the wry prediction attributed to Lenin (probably much garbled) that when the time comes for the Communists to hang the capitalists, the latter will be spiritedly trying to outbid one another to supply the Communists with the rope. I have a suspicion that there is another possibility: the hanging of capitalists will be *very* selective, and there will be no competitive bidding on the rope contract, as this will be awarded in secrecy to a trillion-dollar multinational corporation, whose board chairman will likely be a nominee for an honorary membership on the Politburo. **Reviewed by James J. Martin / History / Arlington House, 1974 / $7.95**

A HUMANE ECONOMY : THE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK OF THE FREE MARKET

By Wilhelm Röpke

As I write this, they're strip-mining Death Valley. A firm finds it has the legal right and profits from it. As I write this, commercial fishermen are killing dolphins to catch tuna at a lower cost. As I finished the last sentence I was interrupted: a telephone solicitor telling me of a "super-low demonstration price" just for me.

As I write this, there lie on my table a dozen exhortations to expand my credit and let me spend money I have not earned; and as I write this, capitalists are growing wealthy selling trade goods to the Communist empire.

Is there anything more dull than a young convert to libertarianism? Yes, of course: three of them. At a recent science fiction convention a team of the creatures went from party to party, engaging loudly in their favorite–indeed their only–topic of conversation. Having disrupted a panel discussion of spacecraft–they wanted to prove that the ships would be free only if the radar operator had the right to sell his equipment and exchange jobs with the agronomist–they proceded to the parties. Before the night was over the hosts at the various room parties had all retreated to a private suite to escape from their own rooms.

What has this to do with Röpke's *A Humane Economy?* At least this: Röpke understands that there is more to life than commercialism; that Burke was not blathering when he spoke of the unbought grace of life; that friendships are not mere commercial propositions of mutual exploitation; that "scientific" attempts to reduce all human intercourse to a series of profit-making transactions are precarious when they're not silly; that there is a realm of life above and beyond the marketplace, and unless that realm is given its proper due, the market economy is doomed.

Röpke repeats with Burke that the State is more than a sort of business company, and with Ortega that mass anything, including commercialism gone riot, is dangerous to humane life.

> The rights of the community are no less imperative than those of the individual, but exaggeration of the rights of the community in the form of collectivism is just as dangerous as exaggerated individualism in its extreme form, anarchism. Ownership ends in plutocracy, authority in bondage and despotism, democracy in arbitrariness and demagogy. Whatever political tendencies or currents we choose as examples, it will be found that they always sow the seeds of their own destruction when they lose their sense of proportion and overstep their limits. In this field, suicide is the normal cause of death.
>
> The market economy is no exception to the rule.

This is Röpke at his best. For me there has never been a more powerful defense of economic liberty than *A Humane Economy* precisely because Röpke understands its limits. His attack on social rationalism, whether of the Left or the Right, is as devastating as it is witty.

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JAZZ: THE GOLDEN AGE

By Neil McCaffrey

PART III: EARLY BENNY

If you think I'm going to write about "Sing, Sing, Sing" (about which the less written the better), guess again. Benny Goodman led a band for three years before giving birth to that dinosaur, and his early band stands up as a miracle of tasty jazz. RCA's Blubird reissue label is now embarked on a epochal project: *The Complete Benny Goodman*. (Not really complete, of course, but the complete canon for the period of the band's dominance when it was recording for Victor, spring 1935 to spring 1939.) The first two double albums are just out: *Volume I–1935* (AXM2-5502) and *Volume II–1935-1936* (AXM2-5515). Forty years old, and there aren't two fresher albums around today.

No need to detail again the Goodman saga: how the young veteran of 25 formed a band in spring 1934; won a following on the NBC network show, "Let's Dance"; scuffled his way through a disastrous nationwide tour; and finally broke through in August 1935 at Los Angeles' Palomar Ballroom, just when he was about to haul down the flag. These records show why they started shouting at the Palomar.

"Sing, Sing, Sing" and all that had nothing to do with it. Benny Goodman led a *dance* band. But it *swung*. If it didn't swing with quite the authority and looseness of the Fletcher Henderson band of that day, it had other assets. Arrangers like Spud Murphy and Deane Kincaide (not to forget Fletcher himself). A rhythm section anchored by painist Jess Stacy, unsung guitarist Allan Reuss, and Gene Krupa before he began playing for the galleries, back when he was showing everyone how drums could underscore and enhance an arrangement. A sax section, led mostly by altoist Hymie Shertzer, that thought as one, phrased as one, and found a light, swinging sound that never needed to overpower. (Harry Hames and Ziggy Elman hadn't yet descended on the scene.)

THE COMPLETE BENNY GOODMAN
Vol. I, 1935 (2 records) / LR Price $7.98
Vol. II, 1935-36 (2 records) / LR Price $7.98
RCA Bluebird AXM2-5502 & 5515
BENNY GOODMAN & HIS ORCHESTRA FROM THE CONGRESS HOTEL, 1935-1936 / Sunbeam 128-132 / LR Price $6.98 each

Order from RECORDS, Libertarian Review, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.

Benny also had a girl singer, and she became the quintessential swing band thrush. Helen Ward did a lot with a modest voice. Comfortable with ballads as well as rhythm tunes, she projected enthusiasm and warmth; she was at home with the beat; and she was decorative. If she places a notch below Mildred Bailey, Ella Fitzgerald, Ivy Anderson, and Helen Forrest, Helen Ward still belongs in the pantheon.

Then there were the Trio and Quartet. More than enough has been said about them: the first chamber music group in jazz, the first racially mixed group, et cetera. When cool, contained, impeccable pianist Teddy Wilson, a walking lesson in taste, joined Benny and Gene to form the Trio, only good music could issue, and it made a refreshing change of pace. When Lionel Hampton joined on vibes to make the Quartet, the results were jivier and sometimes less successful.

Yet we sometimes sow without dreaming what we'll reap. How could Benny, or anyone, have guessed that the offspring would devour the parents? Two decades later and for two decades since, the bands were in full retreat while combos blighted the land. Big band music is now a relic, and every man who puts horn to face thinks of himself as a star. He has this little group. . . The woods are full of chiefs. The Indians have melted away.

Back to the band, and let's not forget the leader. Nobody can challenge Benny on clarinet; but too many take him for granted. Has any jazzman ever been heard more, over four decades, and disappointed less? Could any other jazzman stand up under that kind of exposure?

If you came to the King after 1936, these records will be a revelation. There are several Benny Goodmans. The earliest was the learner, the exciting teenager with Ben Pollack's band. Then the young master, anonymous star sideman on hundreds of forgotten pop records of the early '30s. Next, the master but still in his mid-twenties, and the pied piper of this new rage called swing.

He sounds different here. The technical command is already breathtaking, and the melodic invention. But the tone hasn't hardened yet. This is a softer Goodman, more lyrical, unabashedly romantic when the tune asks for it. If you haven't played these records, you haven't heard Benny Goodman.

Benny wasn't the only master player to front a band, nor even the first. He was, however, a master *leader* as well. His tempos were immaculate. He made stars out of promising kids, and showed good journeymen players a glimpse of the heights. Above all, he achieved the essential balance between discipline and looseness. Jazzmen are like writers: ornery, individualistic, insecure, vain, erratic as team players, tough to handle. Let down the bars and you get the slackness that sometimes disfigured bands like Ellington's, Henderson's, and Basie's, and destroyed a band like Bunny Berigan's. Tighten up too much and you get—a machine. Ask any Glenn Miller alumnus.

Whereas Benny *led*—like the King. The payoff is in these albums: 64 tracks whose richness defies analysis in anything shorter than a monograph. But we can pause over a few highlights.

The jazz arrangements are models of unadorned, economical writing. The soloists can breathe (along with the listeners). The band never fights them. It supports them. Exemplary are Edgar Sampson's score for the band's first big one, "Stompin' at the Savoy"; Deane Kincaide's arrangement of "Hunkadola," a model of the white jazz then still vibrant; Fletcher Henderson's buoyant charts for "Sandman" and "Anything for You"; and brother Horace's for "Walk, Jennie, Walk."

Most of the songs are pops of the day, many achieving an immortality their creators never anticipated, thanks to these records. (Remember, we are getting the *complete* Goodman; remember, too, he had a *dance* band.) Less noticed than the jazz charts, they are among the abiding delights. The titles themselves suggest that they were surprised by immortality: "Yankee Doodle Never Went to Town," "Get Rhythm in Your Feet," "You're a Heavenly Thing" (which features Jack Teagarden's only solo with the band; he sat in for this one date), "Eeny Meeny Miney Mo," "Sing Me a Swing Song," "No Other One." They swing like mad.

To my knowledge no writer has ever dwelt on the band's mastery of ballads (so glibly do we tend to categorize a swing band). Yet the ballads repay careful listening. Spud Murphy's charts for "Restless" and "Ballad in Blue" blazed a trail for saxophone scoring. Not credited on the liner notes is the moving arrangement by David Rose (later of Hollywood fame, and the first Mr. Judy Garland) of "It's Been So Long," with a brief but climactic trombone solo by Joe Harris. Other sidemen get space on the ballads, notably trumpeter Chris Griffin (the liner notes notwithstanding) and trombonist Murray McEachern on the Ellington evergreen, "In a Senti-

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THE COMPLETE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF POPULAR MUSIC AND JAZZ, 1900-1950

By Roger D. Kinkle

It is unfortunate that a vast compendium as useful as this should have in its title the word "complete," which it definitely is not. To satisfy this identification it might have grown to perhaps twice its present size, probably making it unmanageable. As it is, it stretches to almost 2700 double-column pages, and is, so far as I know after nearly 40 years of record collecting, the only try at gathering in a single set the history of popular music as performed by artists whose careers began around 1900 or had begun before 1950. The four volumes contain an amazing amount of material on popular music right up to a short time ago, providing the artists involved started their careers by the 1950 cut-off date. Computerized collation and composition helped a great deal in making possible this encyclopedia, with both good an not so good consequences.

However, Kinkle cannot be faulted for the claim to completeness, as his introduction plainly states that it is not intended to be. He declares it to be intentionally representative in some categories, as well as further qualifying the scope of the work by declaring that all artists are listed "whose importance warranted it." The result is that specialists in each area—be it jazz, performers of popular dance music of conventional kinds, Broadway shows, movie musicals, composers of popular songs, and various more exotic related fields—will quarrel with it. This reviewer will deal with some of its shortcomings.

Over half of the set (volumes II and III) is devoted to biographical sketches of musicians, singers, and composers, with extensive listings of compositions, recordings, and movies or stage shows to the credit of these many performers. The style of the writing varies from animated to staccato and abbreviated, but even for the veteran knowledgeables there is an Everest of information here.

Volume I starts with an alphabetical listing of record company labels, in which I detected the absence of about 20 that are in my collection, mainly European companies, but the set is fair game in this respect since it purports to deal extensively with jazz performed and recorded overseas.

A short historical sketch of popular music covering the time span of the work is followed by a year-by-year listing of Broadway musicals and published popular songs, expanded in later years by annual listings of "hit" recordings and movie musicals.

Volume II is confined to indexes and appendixes, a few of which are novel. One consists of an effort to list in numerical order the 78 rpm popular-record releases (about 33,000 of them!) of all the major nationally distributed companies for the two decades roughtly spanning 1924-1945, a research of immense value to new collectors.

The index proper is alphabetical, with sections for 1230 movie and 1522 Broadway musicals, as well as one containing over 28,000 popular songs. These sections are signal achievements. Also listed are the annual Academy Award and the *Downbeat* and *Metronome* magazine-poll winners in various musical categories from the 1930s through 1973. The index of personal names exceeds 11,000, but there are many duplicate entries, due to the policy of listing persons under their real names separately from their nicknames or professional names, which results in unnecessary complication.

Undoubtedly, every reviewer of this work whose listening antecedents predate the Pepsi Generation will have observations to make on what is left out. Here are some of mine. Ragtime is deplorably handled; the Blesh-Janis *They All Played Ragtime* is missing from the bibliography, which latter is the weakest part of the set. There is a decent sketch of Scott Joplin, but one searches fruitlessly for the Chopin of ragtime, Joe Lamb, or the other Joplin-rank composer, James Scott, or Artie Matthews (Arthur Marshall), not to mention many others. Speaking of Scott Joplin, it has been the fate of ragtime and jazz to have their freshest and most appealing aspects reduced to cliches. Ever since *The Sting*, the only thing I have not heard is a plastic dog bone that wheezes out the first eight bars of "The Entertainer" when chomped on by Bonzo.

There have been three calypso fads in the land in my time. Little evidence of them is in this work, which should at least discuss performers of the rank of Wilmoth Houdini, Lord Invader, and the Duke of Iron.

The set is admittedly weak on blues and blues singers, but the old jazz pioneers come out badly in some respects as well. It would seem to me that Roy Palmer, Ike Rodgers, Henry Brown, Will Ezell, and Montana Taylor also deserve to make the index in some capacity, for surely they rank in importance to, let us say, Armand Robi or Joey Heatherton (who makes the index despite not performing before 1950) in their contribution to American music.

The emphasis on national exposure, which too often means New York also deprives the work of many significant people. Such veteran landmarks in New Orleans as Edmond Souchon and "Kid" Thomas are not to be found, nor "Red" Dougherty and Harry Blons of the Minneapolis area, nor many other key persons with solid reputations in local regions elsewhere. On the other hand, there is substantial memorialization of third-rate beneficiaries of the "buddy system" of show business.

The requirement of national reputation produces historical distortions, moreover. For instance, most of the Scandinavian swing men of the thirties and forties are missing. Jazz in Scandinavia did not begin with bop, even if this was the first of their work to get wide attention here. Thore Ehrling, leader of a swing band comparable to mentalist as Gosta Torner, Kjeld Bonfils, Charles Norman, and a boatload of others who never came here. Harry Nicolausson's *Svensk Jazz Diskografi* would have made a useful supplement to the bibilography.

One area which should have been investigated was that of the instrumental performers as well as the composers of movie music. A case in point: Ray Turner, staff recording pianist at Paramount Pictures for many years, heard via movies by probably more people than any piano player in history (it was Turner doing the playing that your favorite star was faking), does not even qualify for the index.

Nevertheless, despite the lapses, I must conclude well on the credit side in evaluating this immense work. Some time before Kinkle and I (we both date from the same year) end up in wheel chairs, there may be an improvement on it, but until then this encyclopedia will be the place to start for just about anyone who is investigating the history of popular music in the first three-quarters of this century. **Reviewed by James J. Martin / Music / Arlington House, 1975 / 4 volumes, $75**

THE FREE MAN'S ALMANAC

Compiled by Leonard E. Read

The Free Man's Almanac has been compiled and issued by Leonard Read. It makes a pleasant handful of epigrammatic reference and could be useful to any serious student of liberty. It would be of particular value to those who fancy they have read it all and know it all.

The long-time chief of the Foundation for Economic Education has stated that he wished to compile something to be added to each morning's prayer, a thought starter, as it were, that would "upgrade. . . awareness, perception, consciousness."

What has resulted is close to 400 hundred pages of short statements from a vast array of sources. What is most remarkable about the collection is that it comes from so many. More than 300 authors and thinkers are cited, including both ancient and modern, and well-known as well as obscure contributors.

Those who are atheist in their views will be uncomfortable with the volume, for through it runs a sense of the mystery of creation and a reverence for the magnificence of both natural phenomena and human achievement. However, if the atheist is not too timid to wade

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WHAT IS VALUE?

By Risieri Frondizi

Axiology, or the general theory of value, is a philosophic discipline of relatively recent origin. Although philisophy, in its quest for the "good," has long been concerned with specific realms of value, such as ethics and aesthetics, the idea of a discipline that would subsume *all* usages of *value* did not arise until the late nineteenth century. Much of the interest in value theory at that time was spurred by economists, such as Menger, who recognized the importance of value theory for their own investigations.

The guiding ideal of axiological theory has been to unify those disciplines that refer to values—philosophy, psychology, economics, and social theory—by identifying a root conception of *value* that they hold in common.

Risieri Frondizi's *What Is Value?* is a well-written and reliable introduction to axiology. While any brief treatment of this complex field is bound to contain sins of omission, Professor Frondizi has done an admirable job in sketching the basic conflicts in value theory and in summarizing the views of major value theorists. In addition, Frondizi offers a credible solution to the problem of whether values are subjective or objective.

Frondizi summarizes a basic question of axiology as follows: "Are things valuable because we desire them, or do we desire them because they are valuable?" If the former is true, if the existence of value depends solely on the psychological states, attitudes, or desires of the valuing subject, then value is subjective. If the latter is true, if value exists independently of a subject, then value is objective.

Both of these approaches, in the author's view, are flawed. Tracing variants of subjectivism from Meinong and Ehrenfels through Perry, Carnap, Ayer, and others, Frondizi concludes that value subjectivism leads to "axiological chaos." Although it is true that values and the psychological process of valuation are related, it is a mistake to equate the two.

Frondizi finds value objectivism, in its traditional forms, unacceptable as well. Focusing on the axiological theory of the German philosopher Max Scheler, Frondizi rejects the notion that values are absolute qualitites or essences inhering in nature, independent of man. This position leads inevitably to arbitrary value judgments, with an appeal to "intuition"—or some equally mysterious faculty—as the putative means or apprehending value.

Rejecting the subjective-objective antithesis as "the fallacy of false opposition," Frondizi attempts to show that values have both subjective and objective aspects. Value is a "relationship. . . between subject and object"; value "is a relational notion requiring both the presence of the subject and the object."

Developing this position, Frondizi arrives at a theory of value contextualism, where "values have existence and meaning only within a specific situation." Essential to this theory is the notion of value as a "Gestalt quality." The value of an object cannot be separated from its empirical qualities, but neither can it be reduced to them. Values emerge from the multitudinous interrelationships of subjective and objective factors, and the concept of value "has meaning only in concrete human situation."

Frondizi is open to criticism on several counts; but the most significant problem is that, even if we accept his theory of value, it does not qualify as a generic concept applicable to all fields. Frondizi's concept of value is most notably deficient in economics, where the subjectivist approach is unquestionably correct.

In the final analysis, I think that the axiological quest for a generic concept of value is misguided. The idea of value has different meanings as used in different intellectual disciplines, so to search for a common meaning among the usages of *value* is to search for something that does not exist.

Nevertheless, if restricted to ethics and aesthetics, Frondizi's theory of value is suggestive and basically sound. *What Is Value?* is rewarding reading for those interested in this fascinating area, where there is still much territory to be explored. **Reviewed by George H. Smith / Philosophy / Open Court, 1971 / $1.95**

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Röpke—*(Continued from page 2)*

Of course, *A Humane Economy* is a book about economics; and, of course, most of it is devoted to a defense of liberty. These are not times in which the chief danger is from mindless libertarianism; the real threat to liberty comes from the collectivists, and it is for them that Röpke reserves his heavy artillery. He leaves Keynes in ruins. The acknowledged theorist behind Ludwig Erhardt's "economic miracle" in Germany, Röpke knew as early as 1945 that inflation was the chief enemy of both economic and political liberty, and his analyses and predictions are terrifying when read in 1975. The welfare state, he says, cannot exist without loosing the black spider of inflation; and how right he has proved!

> Now it is evident that the slogan "freedom from want" is not meant as an appeal for more self-providence, for saving and insurance. It was not understood in this domestic sense of good husbandry either by Roosevelt or the masses. What is implied is extraneous relief, not voluntary but compulsory, and on a large scale. But in that case all that "freedom from want" implies is that some people consume without producing while others produce and are forced by the state to forego consumption of their own production. That is the sober and elementary fact.

And from that fact Röpke deduced a number of conclusions congenial to the libertarian philosophy, but withal he has not lost his reason.

> We cannot, nowadays, do without a certain minimum of compulsory state institutions for social security. Public old-age pensions, health insurance, accident insurance, widows' benefits, unemployment relief—there must naturally be room for all these in our concept of a sound social system in a free society, however little enthusiasm we may feel for them. *It is not their principle which is in question*, but their extent, organization, and spirit.

And thus is Röpke condemned; when I read that passage to libertarian students the "young fogies" shouted that Röpke is nothing but a collectivist after all. he understands nothing of the world of rigid and uncompromising devotion to praxeology. He is not even a practical man. So said undergraduates of the economist whose theories rebuilt Germany, and they wondered why their audience went off in hiding to have a drink.

To the convinced social rationalist of the right, the sort of civilizational monster who intrudes on another's hospitality and launches into a lecture on how friendship is no more than a form of profit-making, Röpke will have little appeal; but for conservatives, as opposed to libertarians, Röpke is medicine badly needed. He defends the market economy, and he deals with the selfishness of bourgeois society.

Heine wrote,

> Prodigious sins I'd rather see,
> And crimes of blood, enormous grand,
> Than virtue, self-content and fat,
> Morality with cash in hand,

and Röpke responds, "Who does not know such moments of despair in the face of Philistine self-satisfaction and ungenerousness?" He knows what the romantics feel when confronted with the smug face of Harry Babbitt, and he gives comfort. The marketplace and its Philistine "boosters," says Röpke, are vital to any kind of life of freedom. And though one may not like them, they produce an ethical climate that

> is lukewarm, without passions, without enthusisam, but also without "Prodigious sins" and "crimes of blood"; it is a climate which, while not particularly nourishing for the soul, at least does not poison it. . . it is a climate favorable for a certain atmosphere of minimal consideration and for the elementary justice of a certain correspondence of give and take and most favorable, whatever one may say, for the development of productive energy. That this energy is applied not to the construction of pyramids and sumptuous palaces but to the continual improvement of the well-being of the masses, and that this happens because of all-powerful forces proper to the structure and ethical character of our free economic order is perhaps tha greatest of assets in its overall balance sheet.

A free economy, Röpke demonstrates, is not a mere frill; it is an absolutely essential part of any free society. Without property and ownership the tendency is always toward statism and reduction of freedom. We cannot live without eocnomic freedom—a proposition that hardly startles readers of *Libertarian Review*.

But his most important message is that the market economy is not everything: "the ultimate source of our civilization's disease is the spiritual and religious crisis which has overtaken all of us and which each must master for himself." It is his recognition of the limits of economics that should make him valuable to libertarians—at least to libertarians who want to hold a dialogue with conservatives.

Item: "We do not have to be told that advertising fulfills indispensable functions. But only the blind could fail to notice that commercialism, that is, the luxuriance of the market and its principles, causes the beauty of the landscape and the harmony of cities to be sacrificed to advertising. The reason that the danger is so great is that although money can be made from advertising, it cannot be made from resistance to advertising's excesses and perversions. Thousands get hard cash out of advertising, but the unsaleable beauty and harmony of a country give to all a sense of well-being that cannot be measured by the market."

Item: "The warmest supporter of installment buying will not deny that it is in danger of excess and degeneration. The asymmetry is due to the fact that the impulses originating in the market work to the benefit of consumer credit because the interests of those who want to sell their wares are joined by the special interests of the finance institutes making money out of the installment-plan sales. But no money is to be made by organizing cash purchases. . . ."

Item: "Money can be made only by expanding East-West trade, not by restricting it. We have a paradoxical situation: on the one side, Moscow is anxious to make good the deficiencies of the Communist economic system by getting supplies of the most wanted goods from the market economies of the free world while, at the same time, plotting those economies' destruction; on the other side, Moscow has no stauncher allies in these designs than the Western businessmen. . . who would be the first to be eliminated if Communism were to win. . . .

"The fact that the wind of private business interests fills the sails of the Western business world's eagerness to expand East-West trade is no proof that it has political reason on its side—and political reason must, here, have the last word."

It is a trite saying that the battle against communism takes place in the hearts and minds of men, but it is no less true for being trite. My experience with Röpke's value in that battle came with his much earlier work, *The Social Crisis of Our Time*, of which *A Humane Economy* is an updating and expansion; and I can say from that experience that Röpke's view of a humane civilization is a far more reliable weapon for winning converts to the cause of freedom than ever were smug analyses of friendship as "praxeological exploitations."

In conclusion I can do no better than quote a puff from the jacket of the Regnery edition of Röpke's book. Harry Gideonse, then president of Brooklyn College, said, "No single individual in this generation has done more to clarify the basic requirements of a free society or to expose the sophomoric fallacies inherent in exclusive pursuit of one social value at the expense of all others." And 'tis true, 'tis true! **Reviewed by Jerry Pournelle / Economics—Political Philosophy / Regnery, 1971 / $2.95**

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(Continued on page 10)

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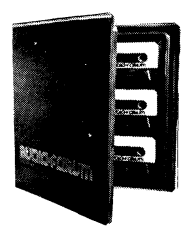

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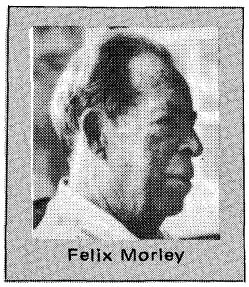
AT THE END OF

By Felix M


Felix Morley

It was during the insanity of the Vietnam War that "light at the end of the tunnel" became a favorite cliche of our governmental spokesmen. Now it is utilized for the depression in which the economy is so obviously mired. Every inconsequential gain in any of the countless indices is likely to be hailed, by Ron Nessen or some other Washington pundit, as "light at the end of the tunnel."

What is important for the traveler is not the sudden lumination when he emerges from a period of obscurity. Much more to the point is the character of the landscape that he finds at the tunnel's end. Is it the same agreeable scenery that surrounded him when darkness suddenly fell? Or has the environment changed to a hostile climate in which mere survival, let alone comfort and complacency, may be doubtful?

THE AMERICAN CONDITION
Richard N. Goodwin / Doubleday, 1974, out of print / $10
GLOBAL REACH: THE POWER OF THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS / Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Müller/ Simon and Schuster, 1975 / $11.95

In Vietnam emergence from the tunnel was certainly shattering to official illusions. It revealed the futile sacrifice of thousands of young American lives; the utter wastage of billions of public money; the complete triumph of communism without even the sour consolation of that "bloodbath" which was so freely predicted as a consequence. Certainly officialdom has sought to minimize the effects of this American tragedy. But it is evident that the depression has been intensified by the disasters of the Vietnam War. A trifling percentage of the $150 billion that we threw away on Saigon would have been sufficient to "save New York."

One offsetting result is that more people than ever before now question the foresight and even the commonsense of governmental management. And another bit of silver lining is growing skepticism towards the customarily distorted output of "Court Historians" and propagandists. This healthy revisionism digs backwards, to an examination of how much the infamous Treaty of Versailles contributed to the rise of Hitler. But it also looks forward, to the effects of deep-rooted dissatisfactions about the future of this country. One unusually interesting book in the latter category is Richard N. Goodwin's study of *The American Condition.*

THE THEME OF THIS ANALYSIS, more timely now than when the writing was completed two years ago, is the alienation of the American spirit by the processes of Big Government. And the examination is the more significant for reasons that are outside the author's argument. In the first place, he is no bristly conservative but a disillusioned liberal who joined the federal establishment believing that in high office there he could perform valuable public service. Then, the major revelations of governmental surveillance and intimidation have been uncovered since *The American Condition* was written, confirming much that it anticipated. Finally, even where the argument is cloudy, it provokes positive thinking on our national ideals, and on the disgraceful manner in which they have been sabotaged from above.

Goodwin is at his weakest when he labors to define freedom, concluding dispairingly in his epilogue that it "can only be described as a relationship." Actually freedom is a very precise political condition—the "dom" or dominion of the free. This does not mean that in a free country every individual will or can be inspired by a love for liberty. It merely means that those in the Patrick Henry tradition, even if a small and excitable minority, will have a right to express their views and will be protected in that right by government. No constitution can make free men out of those with a slave mentality. But political evolution can bring freedom even to those who have been legally enslaved, when men and women are prepared to fight for that goal.

Freedom, of course, is always relative, and it is necessary to realize that man is of all animals by nature the least free. During protracted infancy his dependence on others is absolute, and intellectual maturity is all too often never attained. For a large portion of the average lifetime man is not in a position to enjoy freedom, even when the condition is made available to him. Freedom, moreover, can be abused as well as used, as the aberrations of prematurely emancipated youth too often illustrate. It is a highly susceptible condition, requiring judicious as well as judicial safeguards.

There can be no freedom, as Goodwin rightly emphasizes, without acceptance of personal responsibility. And the massive case that he builds against bureaucracy is largely based on the willingness of its functionaries to pass the buck. By exercising often absolute power without accepting responsibility, the nameless bureaucrat is unconsciously undermining the very basis of freedom. "Government itself came to be regarded as a source of freedom," with the shibboleth of national security invoked to justify every variety of official excess. Watergate has not eliminated executive resistance to efforts by the Congress to locate responsibility for outrageous action. "To the extent citizens must rely on the goodwill, self-restraint or libertarian ideals of a strong Executive, liberty is already lost." In other words, while exalted heads may roll under the White House guillotine, such massacres will in no way solve the underlying problem.

BUREAUCRACY IS A MECHANISM OF CONTROL," says Goodwin, "And the bureaucratic process is a coercive process." Because Americans have been regimented to accept coercion, bureaucracy is no longer confined to government but has established itself in all the major organs of society: trade associations, labor unions, schools and colleges, social and professional organizations, even in the churches that succumb to their own bureaucratic pressures in "updating" traditional forms of worship.

McCaffrey—*(Continued from page 3)*

mental Mood."

This, however, was not a band of celebrities—and maybe it was just as well. Bunny Berigan is featured on several tracks, but this was before stardom and booze exacted their price. Krupa, then unknown beyond musical circles, behaved. So in place of big names we get unassuming excellence from the aforementioned Harris, Reuss, Griffin, Stacy, and McEachern, along with tenor saxophonists Art Rollini and Dick Clark, trumpeter Pee Wee Erwin and trombonist Jack Lacey.

And, especially, trumpeter Nate Kazebier. He contributes a remarkable 32 bars to "Anything for You," a model of dynamics and inventiveness in the lower and middle registers. (A liner note credits the solo to Erwin, but never mind that.) Here, in microcosm, is why the old band's sound is so fresh. It concentrates on music, not effects. It dares to appeal to taste and intelligence. It is never overbearing. You never think you're at the circus.

After you indulge yourself in these albums, you're ready for dessert: five airchecks of the same band. Sunbeam, one of the more conscientious of the bootleg labels, has unearthed these legendary broadcasts and packaged them in five albums (*Benny Goodman &*

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THE TUNNEL

Morley

This impulse towards coercive control dominates modern economic relationships. The allegedly free market is saturated with administrative pricing, and the law of supply and demand has been effectively repealed. The only essential differences from Communist practice is that with us controls have not been imposed by bayonets and are still both incomplete and often decentralized. Nevertheless, it was wholly logical for President Ford to refuse to welcome Solzhenitsyn.

So Goodwin sees great need for change in the social landscape that lies beyond the present tunnel of economic distress. Conservatives content themselves with emotional condemnation of Communist techniques, largely oblivious to the similarities in our own semimilitarized society. Economists are for the most part buried in masses of computerized detail and with few exceptions are altogether lacking in that pragmatic philosophic insight characteristic of the Founding Fathers. There is a growing sense of public alienation from our increasingly distorted institutions. But this estrangement lacks the "understanding which must both precede and accompany any struggle to reshape society to the service of human ends." Perhaps it is the destiny of libertarians to provide this requisite understanding.

ANOTHER CONTEMPORARY STUDY, with a wholly different approach, significantly reaches much the same general conclusions. It is *Global Reach*, by Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Müller, a well-documented examination of the international corporation, its rapid postwar development, its promise and its threat. This book also maintains that "the free market is largely a historical relic" and therefore has been largely overlooked by reviewers who continue to cling piteously to this article of faith.

There is nothing novel, nor particularly American, about the idea of global corporations. They have antecedents in the merchant adventurers of the Hanseatic cities and in such great British ventures as the East India Company. Their role in colonial exploitation continued into our own day. Half a century ago, when I was sent to report on extra-territorial privilege in China, it was obvious that British banks and Japanese textile companies were doing lucrative business at the expense of the Chinese people. Today Volkswagen and Datsun are more active in the United States than is General Motors in Germany or Japan.

What is new, and of concern to Messers. Barnet and Müller, is the unbridled managerial power of the multinational corporation. In a historic showdown, the British government took over the East India Company. A century or so later the American government was strong enough to confront and subdue our domestic trusts. Now, these critics suggest, it is more probably that Washington will surrender in any direct conflict with concerns like ITT.

So we have "a managerial revolution that has made it possible to centralize industrial planning on a global scale." One of its devices is the development of accounting practices whereby the multinational corporation minimizes its taxes not only abroad but also in the country where it is nominally controlled. Still, "a U.S.-based global company is likely to keep a greater share of a dollar earned abroad than of a dollar earned in the United States." The somewhat diminishing prevalence of foreign "tax havens" is closely examined.

While these critics have not written the last word on global corporations, they have done much to bring the magnitude of the development home to the average citizen. A case in point is the curious phenomenon known as Eurodollars. Strictly speaking, this is not confined to dollars banked in Europe, but signifies the accumulation of a readily convertible currency anywhere outside the country of its origin. Since this surplus can surge to and fro, under speculative impetus, without any effective control by central banks, it becomes a potent instrument of inflation. With the abandonment of the gold standard, there is in any case little incentive for democratic governments to control inflation. If they also lose the power to do so the prospect is indeed grim.

OF COURSE, THE GLOBAL CORPORATION is not without its defenders, and there is little doubt that it has been largely instrumental in the rapid growth of world trade during the postwar years. Détente with Russia is also somewhat ironically promoted by corporative planning policies, which, to quote a Senate Finance Committee report, "resemble more than superfically the national planning procedures of Communist countries." Yet, on balance, Barnet and Müller conclude that the incompetence of public controls over these operations is undesirable. They even applaud the "dramatic example" of OPEC, "which in effect is a countercartel of once-poor countries blessed with oil to offset the long-established cartel arrangements of the oil companies."

For the dilemma that they sharply outline these authors have no simple solution. "Global corporations must be regulated to restore sovereignty to government." But: "To substitute the concentrated power of a public bureaucracy for a private one. . . does not necessarily make it responsive to community needs." What is essential, they affirm, is "a change in the global value system." Monopoly power should be witheld both from Big Business and from Big Government. It should be returned to the people, where the architects of this Republic sought to place it two centuries ago.

From quite different viewpoints, these important books converge to anticipate a cleaner atmosphere, both morally and physically, at the end of the tunnel in which we are currently immured. They *both* foresee an economy of scarcity replacing one of abundance. Perhaps optimistically, they look for a social environment that will not be tolerant of conspicuous waste, of ostentatious greed, or of official deceptions. Hopefully the coming climate will encourage the local responsibility without which there can be no freedom. It will be traditional but not reactionary, progressive but not socialistic.

One is reminded of James Madison's cautionary warning in the *Federalist Papers*: "We must rest all our experiments on mankind's capacity for self-government."●

His Orchestra from the Congress Hotel 1935-1936, Sunbeam 128 through 132). They capture the band live, and offer more evidence that its remarkable records were no fluke. Here is the band playing for dancers at the Chicago hotel and "late-night listeners from coast to coast," as they used to say. Included, besides different versions of tunes the band had recorded, are some two dozen arrangements that would be lost forever without these albums.

The broadcasts are doubly valuable for the space they give Helen Ward, who never sang better, and Nate Kazebier, who finally moves to center stage, posthumously. For that matter, a bow to Mort Goode for his liner notes on the Bluebird reissues. Goode did his legwork. He talked to several of the surviving bandsmen; and, incredibly, he was the first to do so, despite the millions of words that have been written about Benny Goodman for four decades. The bandsmen affirm their enthusiasm for Kazebier as the unsung hero; and again, nobody else ever has. Doesn't that tell us something about the laziness of so much jazz writing? The readiness of so many jazz writers to live off the accepted wisdom and never reopen their ears?

It also tells us, I think, that lots of writers know lots of things about Benny Goodman and his music; and a lot of what they know is wrong. *(In the March-April* LR*: Jeff Riggenbach with "Poetry," part four of "An Introduction to Imaginative Literature." Neil McCaffrey returns in May.)*

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Melman—*(Continued from page 6)*

conversion of major parts of the American war economy to civilian work.

Several basic themes emerge from Melman's study. First, Melman challenges the pervasive assumption that massive military expenditures are necessary to ensure continuing economic prosperity in a capitalist system. Melman goes even further, arguing that "a war economy is in fact an anti-economy," because it interacts parasitically with the broader civilian economy within which it is located. The military-industrial complex is able to mobilize scarce economic resources for its own ends through the coercive use of the political means (taxation) and, as a result, civilian industries begin to suffer from systematic capital depletion and declining productivity rates. Melman in particular stresses the adverse consequences of diverting research and development funds and skilled technical personnel into military technology projects, thereby placing the civilian "high technology" industries at a serious competitive disadvantage in the international marketplace. Thus the war economy and the civilian economy cannot coexist harmoniously; the contradictions between the two create a fundamental instability in the system of political capitalism and produce unforeseen effects with long-term destructive consequences.

One of Melman's most significant insights concerning the "relentlessly predatory effects of the military economy" is that "the war economy does not have a homogeneous effect across the economy but is differentiated in its effects by industry, region and occupational class." The geographical concentration of the war economy has produced a form of "internal imperialism" in which certain states—most notably California, Texas, and Virginia—receive far more in federal expenditures than they give in federal tax payments, while other states, such as Michigan, pay more than they receive. It is precisely this differentiated impact of State intervention that economic aggregates such as military expenditures as a percentage of total GNP are designed to obscure.

Melman cautions that, while the expansion of the war economy has a progressively debilitating effect on the economic system as a whole, military expenditures are economically indispensable for certain identifiable groups within our society. In particular, he singles out the bureaucrats within the State apparatus who have gradually acquired managerial control over the war economy, the firms which have become dependent on military contracts and subsidies, and the intellectuals who elaborate ideological rationalizations for continued expansion of the system. Unfortunately, Melman appears to deemphasize the vital role of the military establishment in socializing the costs of foreign "private" investment and, as a result, he may underestimate the extent to which the war economy continues to serve the interests of the corporate elite rather than just those of the bureaucrats in the State apparatus.

Melman's most interesting analysis concentrates on the so-called private firms which have become dependent on military contracts and subsidies. He demonstrates that reliance on such contracts and subsidies, as well as insulation from the competitive discipline of the unhampered market, produces a transformation of the internal decision-making process of a firm that renders the firm incapable of competing successfully on the civilian market without a basic reorganization of its managerial structure.

Melman further contends that, while these firms have preserved the outward appearances of private companies, the vital function of final decision making has shifted into the Department of Defense, which assumes control over the most important managerial decisions. Moreover, the centralized control over capital and technical resources that has been achieved by the State apparatus within the war economy also enables government bureaucrats to exercise considerable influence over decision making within the civilian economy. In effect, Melman argues that the American economic system has evolved into a "military form of state capitalism" characterized by "the growth of a new center of economic decision making, the state management."

Melman repeatedly stresses the role of ideology in ensuring public support for military expenditures, and he traces the elaboration of a broad system of beliefs around the core idea that war brings prosperity. However, he contends that the increasing contradictions between this belief system and both military and economic realities must eventually produce a breakdown in the ideological consensus that has guided American policy making in the post-World War II period.

From a libertarian perspective, the discussion of possible conversion policies is clearly the weakest part of Melman's study, since he proposes a broad variety of State programs, such as an Industrial Reorganization Corporation and government subsidies to facilitate job retraining and relocation of employees of defense firms (there is even a Defense Industry Employees Bill of Rights). It is in this area that Melman most clearly reveals his misunderstanding of the parasitic nature of military expenditures. The parasitism does not arise from the fact that the expenditures are directed to activities which are not useful for either present consumption or further production, as Melman seems to assert. Rather, the parasitism stems from the coercive expropriation of wealth produced by the economic means, regardless of the subsequent use of that wealth. All interventionist measures are thus inherently parasitic and will generate distortionary effects within the economic system similar to the ones which Melman perceptively attributes to military expenditures.

Even in the area of conversion strategies, however, Melman's analysis is useful, for it serves to focus attention on the unprecedented difficulties which would be encountered during a conversion effort and challenges the rather simplistic assumption that a defense firm will be able to convert to civilian production with minimal disruption. A defense firm is not unlike a dope addict, and for both, going "cold turkey" must inevitably serve as a painful experience. Furthermore, Melman argues that the war economy is essential to the continued survival of powerful, vested interests and that the success of any conversion strategy ultimately depends on the mobilization of a social force capable of compelling its implementation.

If the war economy is as deeply imbedded in the American economic system as Melman suggests, the transition to a genuinely free market will not be a smooth one. While the policy makers and corporate leaders who were responsible for the emergence and expansion of this parasitic war economy deserve little sympathy, large portions of the American population have become dependent upon this political-economic subsystem for their employment and livelihood. For their sake, libertarians must formulate a persuasive rationale to demonstrate not only that the transition to a pure market system is necessary, but also that the political means which originally created the problem cannot now be employed to resolve the problem. This book is essential not only to an understanding of the "real world" of political capitalism, but also for beginning to confront the problems in getting from here to there. **Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / Economic History—Politics / Simon & Schuster, 1974 / $9.95**

Read—*(Continued from page 4)*

in such transcendent waters, he may find some items of considerable merit.

There is a predictable selection of subject matter. A sheaf of quotes from various writers attests brilliantly to the merit of private property, a free market, and the invisible hand. Stressed is the individuality of each and the superiority of a market with millions of different people planning what shall be done, as opposed to a market centralized and stagnant, in the hands of the State.

Freedom is seen as an optimum of choices that, while vast, does not include freedom to trespass on others. And there is the familiar note that benign government is that which is limited to the area of protection, defense, retaliation, and punishment, the latter two visited upon the iniquitous at the hands of the righteous. Justice Brandeis is quoted as saying, "Experience should teach us to be most on guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficient."

But there are great, sublime sentences that cannot help stir the spirit and cause the heart to leap in hope. And there are some profound insights that must be read, and read again.

Any compilation of this sort is bound to have its limitations. But *The Free Man's Almanac*, compiled by Leonard Read, is one of the best and most useful for libertarians that I have run across. **Reviewed by Robert LeFevre / Inspiration / Foundation for Economic Education, 1974 / $5**

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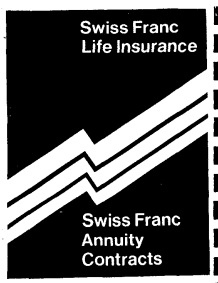

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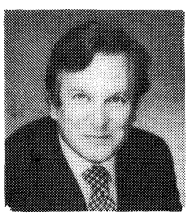
Inflation Survival Letter

BASIC RELAXATION AND EGO-STRENGTHENING PROGRAM

REVIEWED BY R.A. CHILDS, JR.
and reprinted from *Libertarian Review*



Branden

"Sometime ago, Nathaniel Branden told me about a new cassette program he had developed. He had wanted to develop a cassette, he explained, that would have a number of beneficial effects on the listener: it would produce feelings of deep relaxation; it would teach the listener how to produce relaxation in himself; it would teach him how to keep calm and composed under conditions of pressure and stress; it would promote feelings of physical well being. If played in the morning, it would have an energizing effect; if played at night it would insure a deeply relaxing sleep. In addition, the cassette would strengthen feelings of self-confidence and self-acceptance.

"After a long period of experimentation he had the cassette produced, and the results, he said, has been extraordinarily gratifying. An overwhelming number of users found that the cassette worked for them. It enjoys a high rate of success with insomnia cases. Actors, actresses and athletes have reported that as a consequence of playing it before job interviews and competitive, high-stress situations, it keeps them much calmer and aids them in turning in a high level of performance. Further, a number of people have reported the disappearance of psychosomatic symptoms (such as headaches and pre-menstrual tension) after working with the cassette. Two physicians are currently experimenting with the cassette to see if it can bring down high blood pressure.

"Branden pointed out that to achieve the best results, the cassette should be played at least once a day, preferably twice, for a month and then when and as desired to reinforce the tape's effects. He made me a present of the tape and suggested that I try it.

"The results were better than I had anticipated. It is not easy to explain how and why the cassette works the way it does—subtle and sophisticated psychological processes are involved—but, at least for me, its beneficent consequences were unmistakable. Some of the principles on which the cassette works are familiar to me from my reading of Branden's and other books in the field of psychology. But I had never come even remotely close to achieving the results that this cassette produced for me. Essentially, the results were as Branden had described them . . . I found myself able to remain much more relaxed under pressure and to face deadlines and exams with a much more calm and confident attitude than before. Futhermore, the cassette program seemed to act like a magnifying lens on my powers of concentration.

"The cassette is not a lecture but a psychological experience. It should be listened to when one is alone, lying down or sitting comfortably with eyes closed. One should follow Branden's words without straining or forcing. If listened to in this way, if one really gives oneself to the experience, the results are very exciting, especially after a number of repetitions. Very highly recommended."

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AUDIO-FORUM

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FREEDOM UNDER SIEGE

By Madalyn Murray O'Hair

Madalyn Murray O'Hair's role in the 1963 Supreme Court decision forbidding prayer in public schools gave her national exposure as a militant atheist and staunch supporter of separation of church and state. Since then, she has been active in the fight for secularism. In 1972, Ms O'Hair announced that she is also an anarchist, an advocate of total freedom.

Freedom Under Siege: The Impact of Organized Religion on Your Liberty and Your Pocketbook is her latest book. It examines past and present church-state relations in the United States and the threat organized religion poses to the liberty and wealth of Americans. In view of O'Hair's credentials, it might be assumed that her analysis is predominantly libertarian. It is not.

O'Hair provides a truly superb history of Christian-sponsored tyranny in America. She shows how and where religion has censored views with which it disagrees, campaigned for laws curtailing freedom of action, jailed or surpressed its critics, fought birth control and legalized abortion, opposed equal legal status for women, and used public schools as a forum for its opinions.

However, this aspect of the book neither justifies nor excuses O'Hair's political proposals. She wants to tax religious organizations—in the name of freedom! She wants to force by means of law full public disclosure of church assets. Church ownership or licensing of radio stations should be illegal, contends O'Hair. And with regard to the recent school textbook controversy, she argues that religious parents may have no say in the choice of reading materials. She denounces church-sponsored illegal gambling. Almost 100 pages are devoted to organized religion's tax shelters, tax-free investments, untaxed income from gifts and games, land, hospitals, and retirement homes. If only churches were taxed, sighs O'Hair, a large tax burden would be lifted from those who now pay taxes.

Two factors explain O'Hair's stance: undefined terms and a failure to recognize the relation between means and ends.

For example, *freedom* is given no precise meaning. O'Hair sees no basic difference between fraud, violence, and the threat of violence and "less obvious but still almost irresistible economic and psychological pressures, or social reeducation." She contends that "social pressure, personal obligations, good business, and even political considerations" are forms of "indirect coercion." She sees no difference between legally forbidding the sale and possession of a given book and a group's threat to boycott bookstores that carry the book. In her view, both actions are forms of censorship.

Historically, the principle of church-state separation arose as a means of securing freedom. But when church-state separation clashes with liberty, the means, not the end, must be discarded. In *Freedom Under Siege* O'Hair converts the means into an end.

The political changes endorsed by O'Hair would produce a system far more coercive than the one that presently exists. A society in which some escape looting is better than one in which none do. A system in which some are free is better than one in which none are. A country in which some are free is better than one in which none are. A country in which some escape taxation—even for reasons of religious belief and affiliation—is better than one in which none do. **Reviewed by Michael Emerling / Political Philosophy—Contemporary Politics / Dell, 1975 / $8.95**

—AN AFTERWORD FROM

Clap-Trap Books

Sometimes I am really appalled at the clap-trap books which are reviewed in *LR*. A case in point being John W. Robbins' review (*LR*, October 1975) of Gordon Clark's *Philosophy of Science and Belief in God*, concerning which, even without having read the book, I nevertheless think several comments are in order.

First, Robbins states that Clark "discusses the various solutions" proposed concerning Zeno's paradoxes of motion and "concludes with Aristotle's attempted solutions." I take this to mean that neither Clark nor Robbins have felt it necessary to consider among their "various" solutions *modern-day* ones, which are to be found quite readily (by any *serious* "Natural philosopher") in Wesley C. Salmon, ed., *Zeno's Paradoxes*, or in Adolf Grunbaum, *Modern Science and Zeno's Paradoxes*. Either of these books (or several others) makes it painfully clear that a *proper* philosophical-mathematical-scientific explanation of Zeno's paradoxes *requires* conceptions which were not developed until the *19th century* (primarily by Georg Cantor). Thus, with respect to Robbins' conclusion that "the failure of the best scientist of antiquity [viz., Aristotle] to explain motion does not encourage one trying to understand science," it is *not* Aristotle who should be faulted for his lack of imagination and foresight, *nor* science, since it *has* found a proper solution, *but rather* Clark and Robbins for their lack of homework in their abysmal attempt to discuss this subject before a 20th century audience.

Secondly, if Clark's and Robbins' example of the "self-contradictory state of science" is meant to be the particle and wave conceptions of light, then this example (and others) is easily dismissed if one accepts the *Aristotelian* formulation of the law of contradiction: An individual A cannot both have the predicate B and not have the predicate B *at the same time and in the same respect.* Given this, there is *no* scientific example in which light is (or "manifests itself as") a particle(s) (e.g., the photoelectric effect) and is a wave (e.g., interference phenomena) *at the same time and in the same respect.* Be this as it may, there are certainly more self-contradictions readily at hand in Christian theology, e.g., the presumed attributes of "God," which Clark and Robbins apparently wish to sweep under the carpet.

Thirdly, concerning Robbins' comments that Clark "devastates" science by showing that it commits the (*a*temporal) logical fallacy of affirming the consequent, and that scientists "are ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of truth," it is clear that Clark and Robbins, *but not science*, are committed to the *philosophical-theological presupposition* that there is an "Absolute Truth" (presumably held by "God") to be found, and finding or knowing it requires *omniscience*. Without this *assumption* (unwarranted since it requires argument), their position appropriately falls flat on its face. That is, one has a *choice* here to reject this requirement of omniscience and turn thereby to adopt a *"contextual"* theory of knowledge. Within such a theory, it is all too obvious that science has a great deal of evidence supporting it, whereas Christian theology has *precisely none*, and should thereby be rejected as *false*.

All this is *not* intended to imply that science does not have its difficulties, but science—whether it be "true" or not—has at least provided us with a great amount of *prolife* technological progress. On the other hand, Clark and Robbins should stick to whatever it is *they* do best, which seems to include, in particular, supporting a Christian theology which has consistently wreaked havoc on mankind in promulgating one of the most *antilife* moralities ever conceived. If God existed, I think he would be ashamed to admit the authorship of such "revealed propositions."

BRUCE K. BELL
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pros and Cons

My congratulations on an outstanding issue of *Libertarian Review* (October 1975). It has been a pleasure watching *LR* evolve into a more mature, diversified periodical.

The pro/con reviews are a good way to draw out the differences among libertarians. In John Robbins' case, his review revealed the result of a person's choice to have faith in God: he is left with assertions to justify that belief. Robbins' review is filled with words like "devastating," "brilliant," "demolition," yet the quote from *Philosophy of Science and Belief in God* is far from devastating, brilliant, or coherent. I would rewrite Robbins' concluding sentences as: "Mystic triumphs are not cognitive but psychological. Mysticism is not true, it is psychologically useful. Christianity has nothing to fear because Christians will not allow any evidence or reasoning whatsoever to refute their beliefs."

Meanwhile Smith quietly and clearly *reviewed* the book.

Walter Grinder's combined review of the four books and of the Austrian theory of the business cycle should be published as a separately available essay. His review could easily be used as an introduction to the theory. It is like a bullet: small, dense, and packs a wallop.

Keep up the great work. At $6 a year, *LR* is a steal!

HENRY C. SCUOTEGUAZZA
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Robbins Replies

One of my two critics, by his own admission, did not read the book he criticizes; and the other, judging by the sneering tone of that portion of his letter which concerns me, never will. To take the latter first, had Mr. Scuoteguazza deliberately set out to give an example of the fallacy I mentioned in my review, the argument—or rather, nonargument—from intimidation, he could not have succeeded more excellently. The fact that he did not deliberately set out to give us such an example should tell us something about his thought processes.

My other critic, Mr. Bell, shows a good deal more interest in logical argument than Mr. Scuoteguazza, but not much more intellectual honesty. He regards Clark's book as "clap-trap" and admits that he has not read it. Had he taken the precaution of

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, *901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.*

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LIBERTARIAN CROSS-CURRENTS

BY WALTER E. GRINDER

• **James J. Kilpatrick**'s not really too ascerbic report on the Libertarian Party's national convention appears in "The Libertarians: Nothing if Not Consistent," *National Review*, 10 October 1975.

• Professor **Domenick T. Armentano** of the Department of Economics, University of Hartford, is teaching a course entitled "Libertarian Political Economy." Assigned texts are M.N. Rothbard's *For A New Liberty* and T.R. Machan's *The Libertarian Alternative*.

• During the coming spring term, **Murray N. Rothbard** will teach a course entitled "Libertarian Economics" in the Department of Social Science at the **Polytechnic Institute of New York** (333 Jay Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201).

• The **Third Libertarian Scholars Conference**, sponsored by the **Center for Libertarian Studies** was held at the Williams Club in New York City, 24-26 October. A number of high-level papers were delivered by scholars such as **John Hagel III, Eric Mack, William Marina, John Sanders, Joel Spring, Carl Watner**, and others. The high spot of the conference was a session on **Robert Nozick**'s important work *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. Papers by **Randy Barnett, Roy Childs, Jeffrey Paul**, and **Murray N. Rothbard** covered a number of the points of contention in the book. When these papers are published, they will surely lead to a far clearer state of the debate between the minarchists and the anarchists.

• In many ways what **Harry Elmer Barnes** called the "historical blackout" is still in operation. Although a great deal of work has been done to show FDR's duplicity in the East, even to suggest that the origins of World War II in Europe were caused by anyone or anything other than the evil powers of the demonic painter from Austria is to have oneself immediately and forever dubbed as a Nazi-lover. One scholar who has consistently tried to stand up to the blackout is **A.J.P. Taylor**. Taylor has been rejected out of hand by one Americo-Anglophile after another. His most outspoken adversary has been **Hugh Trevor-Roper**. This saga has been brought up to date in Roman Rome's "The Origins of the Second World War" (*Intellect*, September-October 1975).

• In October, **Eric Mack**, of the Philosophy Department, Newcomb College, Tulane University, spoke to the **Libertarian Supper Club**. His subject, "The State vs. Society." For future talks inquire: Libertarian Supper Club, 3910 Camp Street, New Orleans, LA 70115.

• Another excellent article on our beloved vice president: "Nelson Rockefeller's Metamorphosis as Vice Presdient," *Fortune*, October 1975.

• Is it possible to take a moral or intellectual stand against the State of Israel and Zionism without being painted with the broad brush of anti-Semitism? To take the side of the Palestinians in the Middle East struggles anytime during the past 25 years has been to be branded pro-Arab and anti-Jew. A small number of such critics are discussed in "Five Critics of Israel: Are They Anti-Semitic?" (*National Observer*, 11 October 1975.)

• A study released 13 October, 1975 by the **National Assessment of Educational Progress** shows that in over-all learning girls slowly lose ground to boys in ages 9 to 17, as measured by nationwide achievement tests. Some say that the tests are sexually biased because the deck is culturally stacked against girls during these all-important years. Others say it lends credence to studies such as those by **Steven Goldberg**. And so the debate goes on. See "Girls Lag on Tests: Unequal Education?" *U.S. News & World Report*, 20 October 1975.

• **Bruce Bartlett**, a graduate student in the History Department of Georgetown University, is currently a fellow at the **Institute For Humane Studies** (1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025). He is engaged in a study of the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. He is also doing work on the influence of John Maynard Keynes, as well as a critical study of Harry Elmer Barnes.

• More on the work of **Peter R. Breggin, MD**, Executive Director, **Center for the Study of Psychiatry** (4628 Chestnut St., Washington, DC 20014). For his view on the subject of libertarian politics and psychiatry see "Psychiatry and Psychotherapy as Political Process," in the *Journal of Psychotherapy*, No. 3, July 1975. ●

Readers, Authors, Reviewers

reading the book before he critized it, he would have learned, perhaps, that it was published in 1964, three years *before* the Grunbaum book he mentions, and six years *before* the Salmon book. Apparently Dr. Clark did not do his homework, in Mr. Bell's view, because he did not read books published years after his *Philosophy of Science*. While Bell wishes to excuse Aristotle for his ignorance of mathematical ideas not developed until the 19th century, he wishes to hold Clark accountable for books pubished years after his own.

As for myself, I have read the books Bell mentions and find them quite unconvincing as solutions to Zeno's paradoxes of motion. In fact, if one reads Bell carefully he may notice that Bell makes no claim to know of a solution to the paradoxes. He says that the paradoxes could not be properly explained until certain ideas had been developed in the 19th century by the German mathematician Georg Cantor, but he is careful not say that any solutions have actually been provided. This is understandable, since Grunbaum hinself says that Cantor's theories, if they are consistent, might offer a solution to some of the paradoxes, particularly the paradox of extension. However, Grunbaum does not demonstrate the self-consistency of Cantor's theories. He simply leaves the reader hanging. Salmon says that "these developments [in 19th century mathematics] did not provide a full resolution [of the paradoxes]"; and that "it would, of course, be rash to conclude that we had actually arrived at a complete resolution of all problems that come out of Zeno's paradoxes. Each age, from Aristotle on down, seems to find in the paradoxes difficulties that are roughly commensurate with the mathematical, logical, and philosophical resources then available." A.N. Whitehead, Max Black, and J. O. Wisdom are a few of the philosophers who have decided that Cantor's mathematical theories are quite inadequate as an explanation of the paradoxes. Finally, Salmon and Grunbaum themselves warn against precisely that attitude that Bell displays, that the paradoxes are merely mathematical anachronisms that may be used to befuddle freshmen who have not yet studied calculus. In view of these facts, Clark's conclusion that attempted modern solutions of the paradoxes are no better than attempted ancient solutions is entirely understandable.

As for Bell's comment about light, physicists use two irreconcilable theories to explain the nature and propagation of light. Now if Bell believes that both these theories are accurate descriptions of light, then I must conclude that he is insane. However, it is apparent from his later remarks that he does not believe in truth, and is much more impressed with the so-called prolife technological progress science has given us. Since Bell does not believe in truth (yet he believes, self-contradictorily, that the propositions "God is a fiction" and "absolute truth is an illusion" are true), this concern with "progress" was to have been expected.

What Bell is driving at in his remark about the fallacy of asserting the consequent being "atemporal" is not apparent to me. The fallacy consists in arguing: if p, then q; q, therefore, p. A simple example is, if it is raining, the ground is wet; the ground is wet; therefore, it is raining. All scientific argument consists in saying that if a theory is true (p), then it will lead to a certain result (q). An experiment is then devised to test the theory; the experiment is performed; and the result, let us assume, is q. The scientist then concludes that since the predicted result is observed (q), the theory must be true (p). All scientific investigation commits this fallacy. Science is, as Popper has expressed it, conjectural and/or refuted. If Bell has not read Popper, perhaps he saw the August 1972 issue of the *Reader's Digest* in which Einstein is quoted as saying that "We know nothing about it [nature] at all. Our knowledge is but the knowledge of school children. . . . But the real nature of things—that we shall never know, never."

Finally, Mr. Bell makes some concluding remarks about "prolife" science and "antilife" Christianity. Suffice it to say that the empirical evidence—and that is all a scientist like Bell can ask for—shows that the 20th century is by far the bloodiest century of all human history, and that the 20th century is dominated by science and the pervasive belief that man, or rather, Man, must and can make his own way. The 20th century is certainly not dominated by Christianity. Until Christianity, unadulterated by secular philosophies, is once again triumphant, the blood will continue to flow, ever wider and deeper.

JOHN W. ROBBINS
Arlington, Va.

I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me the periodic table of the elements.—KTP

Grinder vs. Philosophy

Your were wrong to give space to Walter Grinder so that he could attack the new publication, *Libertarian Scholar*. ["Libertarian Cross-Currents," *LR*, October.] Grinder's point that "overweighted concentration of philosophy and the classics has time and again in the past helped to plunge libertarian intellectual movements into a dank moral conservatism" was completely arbitrary, unproven, and plainly stupid to boot. Libertarian movements have failed *because* they have had no solid argumentative, philosophical foundations but rested on impressions, sentiments, and tradition. Hume's ethics are explicitly arationalistic, and Hume had been a sort of libertarian; Mill's ethics were rather weak on argument as well, so his utilitarianism could not sustain the libertarian politics he advocated; Smith's ethics had no solid philosophical foundation, so his defense of liberty was essentially goundless; Stirner was a hopeless subjectivist who substituted passionate essays for philosophical defenses and arguments; Spencer was at last a comprehensive thinker, yet here, too, not enough effort went into understanding the metaethical issues. The individualist anarchists may have made much reference to natural law and the like, but did hardly anything *to develop the case* for individualist natural law.

In the meanwhile Hegel, Marx, R.H. Green, and all of the American pragmatists—those articulate advocates of the mixed society—did their philosophical homework and ran down the feeble case for libertarianism that Grinder's aphilosophical supporters of liberty advanced.

TIBOR R. MACHAN
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A Word To Our Readers

• **Publisher's Announcement:** Effective with this issue, the subscription price for *LR* will be increased to $8 for 12 issues and $15 for 24 issues. Gift subscriptions may be purchased at $7 for 12 issues.

Another change: because of a move in our editorial offices (to Alexandria, Virginia) and of our circulation offices (to Landover, Maryland) as well as assorted other changes in production procedures, *LR* will be temporarily published on a bimonthly schedule.

This change in publication schedule will have no effect on the number of issues you will receive on your present subscription. We hope to resume a monthly publishing schedule later this year.—RDK

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• Entropy is anti-life.

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• The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research has recently published the fascinating pamphlet *A Discussion With Friedrich von Hayek.* The pamphlet (Domestic Affairs Study 39) includes an introduction by Gottfried Haberler and sells for $1.50. Order from AEI, 1150 Seventeenth St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

• A completely revised edition (current through 1974-75) of Ferdinand V. Solara's *Key Influences in the American Right* is available from LEA Communications, Inc. for $3.95. The 68-page booklet is an excellent source of information on the philosophies and activities of sixty leading conservative, libertarian, and anti-Communist organizations and publications in the United States. Order from LEA Communications, Inc., 1735 Desales Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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• "There is nothing more frightful than ignorance in action."—Goethe

• **Things to Come:** Needless to say, G. William Domhoff's review of *The Rockefeller Syndrome* is not in this issue. But never fear, it's coming up soon. The March-April *LR* will feature a three-part symposium on the Libertarian Party by James Toole, Samuel Edward Konkin III, and Edward H. Crane III. Also in the works are an Essay Review of Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* and reviews of Wilson's *Sociobiology*, Farmer's *Unready Kilowatts*, Robbins' *Answer to Ayn Rand*, Wilson's and Shea's *Illuminatus!*, and the controversial *Show Me!* And soon to join the illustrious ranks of *LR* contributors are Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling, James Dines, R.C. Orem, and R. Bretnor.

REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE: **Samuel L. Blumenfeld**'s latest book is *The Retreat from Motherhood.* He is also author of *The New Illiterates, How to Tutor*, and *How to Start Your Own School.* **Michael Emerling** studies self-improvement, hypnosis, and philosophy in sunny Tucson, Arizona. He is the author of *Theistic Objectivism: An Autopsy.* **Alan Fairgate** is a graduate student in business administration and law at a leading American university. **Robert LeFevre** is the founder and past president of Rampart College and the editor of *LeFevre's Journal.* **James J. Martin**, when he is not exploding the myths of Establishment historians, spends his time listening and adding to his fabulous collection of recorded jazz and popular music. **Neil McCaffrey**, jazz buff extraordinaire, is President of Arlington House Publishers. **Felix Morley** is currently writing the memoirs of his long and active life. He is a Pulitzer Prize winner, a former Rhodes Scholar, founding editor of *Human Events*, and the author of many books. **Jerry Pournelle**, a former professor of political science, is a "13th Century Liberal," a member of the Philadelphia Society, science editor of *Galaxy* magazine, and a leading science fiction writer. **George H. Smith** is Director of the Forum for Philosophical Studies and author of *Atheism: The Case Against God.*

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